

A Newspaper Devoted to the Welfare of All Workers by Hand or Brain

The Canadian Railroader Weekly

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BLEEDING THE BLOODLESS

WE have persistently been advocating industrial peace and constitutional methods of reform. We have never ceased fighting any plan that we felt would lead to bloodshed and suffering. We have persistently maintained that by the methods of arbitration and conciliation, supplemented by political action based upon constitutional methods, order would be brought out of chaos, the lives of our people might be spared and great suffering avoided. Our cry from the beginning has been that all who had the interest of our country and its people at heart would persist with energy and unfaltering determination in bringing to the people the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter. It is our firm belief that this is the national duty of every individual who has it within his power to relieve the excruciating sufferings of the people and to perform his part in this plan and purpose at the cost of committing a grievous sin of omission if he fails to do so.

We have always supported the idea of an honest, clean profit in business. We frankly advise that provision should be made for extension of plant. We warmly believe in and will support any policy that will

build upright and healthy, sound, honest and economical business growth.

But you may then imagine our feeling, our nauseating disgust, when we began examining

the evidence presented before the Hight Cost of Living Commission. It is the first time in the history of The Canadian Railroader that we have ever used specific names in attacking flagrant abuses. In this instance we shall do so, tinged with regret because the institutions involved are evidently at utter variance with the plan of bringing to the people food, clothing and shelter.

HIS VIEW OF RECONSTRUCTION



When Mr. W. E. Paton, of the Paton Manufacturing Company, of Sherbrooke, appeared before the Commission he frankly stated that in 1914 the earnings of his company were 6.88%, in 1915 26.15%, in 1916 35.38%, in 1917 46.81%. Mr. Pringle, counsel for this Commission, further enlightened the Commission by stating that for the year ending Jan. 31, 1918, the profits were \$108,322., or 17% on a capital stock of \$600,000. Bear in mind that this handsome little nest egg remained after deducting contributions to the various patriotic funds. The profits for the year ending Jan. 31, 1919, were 72.9%, and the balance at the credit of the firm subject to war tax was \$1,010,427. "I presume you will still contend that 72% is a reasonable return on your capital," commented Mr. Pringle. "A very handsome return," agreed the suave Mr. Paton. The astonishing significance of this testimony will be fully understood when we realize that the profits of this concern in 1914 were only 6.88%. Owing to the fact that difficulties of transportation practically prevented any goods coming to this country from England the Paton firm was able to put up its prices to such an extent that it earned 72% on its capital. The witness said that there were from 100 to 150 similar concerns in Canada but that there was no arrangement regarding prices so far as he was concerned. It appears therefore that the Canadian public was compelled to pay the Paton firm 72% on its capital, after which the wholesalers' and retailers' profits were to be added before the goods reached the consumers. Mr. Stevens of the Committee, asked Mr. Paton this very per-

The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the people who make its laws.

Read the platform of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, sent on request.

—Railway Review, London.

(Continued on page 9).

Our OTTAWA LETTER

The Winnipeg strike has once more assumed pre-eminence on the stage after being temporarily displaced by the Budget debate. On Tuesday the 17th the Federal Government acting through the N. W. Mounted Police raided the Labor Headquarters at Winnipeg, seized all documents and arrested eleven strike leaders, three of whom were Russians. They were taken to Stony Mountain Goal and then remanded for eight days on appearing before a justice. They are charged with seditious conspiracy to overthrow the established government in Canada.

It was at first announced that the special powers established by the Immigration Act were to be used which meant that a Special court of Inquiry appointed by the Immigration Department would try them and order their deportation, which had also been provided for by the legislation hurried through Parliament ten days before by Mr. Calder. However, the intervention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada through Mr. Tom Moore with the threat of determined opposition to such a course brought the Cabinet to its senses, and it is now agreed that the accused will be tried by the ordinary civil courts. If the Government had carried out its Star Chamber programme, not only the whole Canadian Labor movement but every lover of liberty and British institutions in the country would have been moved to active protest and the Government would have landed itself in a sea of troubles. Some six years ago when General Botha ordered the deportation of some strike leaders in Johannesburg, the British Labor movement which had not then reached half its present power was stirred to the depths.

A Safe Guess.

If the Winnipeg leaders had been deported without a fair trial, it is a safe guess that within a week they would have been addressing crowded meetings in Britain with Mr. Arthur Henderson or Mr. Bernard Shaw in the chair, explaining the manifold virtues of the wonderful government with which we are blessed. Nothing would have been easier than to have suggested to the British Labor party a general boycott of all Canadian immigration offices as long as Mr. Calder, who heads the department which provides for deportations, remained in office.

All precautions must now be taken to see that the accused are accorded a fair trial and are provided with good legal assistance for their defence. The Winnipeg employers have now issued a manifesto in which they to all intents and purposes concede the principle of collective bargaining.

At Ottawa the Budget debate was resumed on Monday. Most of the

day was occupied by a verbose harangue from the leader of the Opposition Mr. D. D. McKenzie. He is now painfully aware of the fact that certain indiscretions earlier in the session have seriously impaired his chance of the permanent leadership of the Liberal party, and he set out on Monday to prove that his meaning had been misinterpreted. His declaration of protectionist faith simply meant that he was a tariff for revenue man who believed in giving assistance to the indigenous industries of the country. Preferably such aid should be in the form of bounties, which would be very nice for the somewhat voracious coal and steel industries of Cape Breton, Mr. McKenzie's native heath.

He then gave a rambling and fervent account of his ideas of Liberalism, of the bygone glories and exploits of the great Liberal party and of his hopes for the future. Mr. McKenzie is personally a likeable old gentleman, but he has quaint and primitive notions of politics and cannot get it out of his head that it is not a conflict between two rival sects, whose chief business should be to attach to their standards as many warriors as possible, regardless of what views or principles the said warriors hold. The Liberal party will never be so foolish as to select him

as its permanent leader unless they have now come to the view held by some that it is the duty of progressive parties to spend most of their time in opposition. Not only is Mr. McKenzie slowwitted, conservative to a degree in temperament and ignorant of the wider spheres of politics but he is very much hand in glove with people like the Nova Scotia Steel Co. and takes the lawyer capitalist view of most problems. A man who at that this time of day can advocate legislation to make strikes illegal is fit to lead neither the Liberal or any other party.

Progressive Leader.

On Monday the best speech came from Mr. W. C. Kennedy the Liberal member for North Essex. Mr. Kennedy has acquired a fortune at a comparatively early age and intends to devote the rest of his life to politics. He is the leader of a group of progressives who are engaged in trying to put much-needed new life into the Liberal party and force it to adopt a radical platform at the approaching convention. Mr. Kennedy makes a special study of financial matters and he was now able to expose the gross favoritism of Sir Thomas White's administration of our finances to the bankers and moneyed classes. He pointed out that as a result of the issue of tax-free bonds to which he strongly objected "millions of dollars are going into the hands of the speculators today and being placed in the strong

boxes of our plutocracy." He calculated that at least \$80,000,000 of income was escaping taxation each year. The 5½ per cent. tax free bonds really were worth 7, 8 and 10 per cent. to men of large incomes and the taxation of which they are thus relieved has to be borne by the people of the Dominion chiefly through taxes on food and clothing. "Tax-free bonds", said Mr. Kennedy, "relieve the man who can best afford to pay his share of taxation and place the burden upon the man who can least stand it — the toiler, the wage earner and the small business man". The last issue were now selling at 106 and would give a return of 17½ per cent. to people who bought them in September. Of course such interest is nothing to those captains of finance and industry who the Cost of Living Commission has been revealing to have made profits ranging from 76 to 300 per cent. Mr. Kennedy then went on to expose the government's extravagance in placing the bonds and proved that while the Americans placed each bond at an average cost of 35 cents, it cost us \$7; for every dollar they spent, we spent \$20. Of course our poor banks, brokers and financial houses had to be looked after. For the last loan the banks took a toll of \$1,356,000 and poor starveling firms like the Dominion Securities Company (pres. Mr. E. R. Wood) and A. E. Ames & Co. received doles of \$46,995 and \$47,339 respectively. Mr. Kennedy is no believer in the public spirit and disinterestedness of our banks, which he regards as an expensive luxury. He gave the House an account of the 195 small savings banks in the State of Massachusetts, which have deposits to the amount of \$1,250,000,000, being three-fourths of our total Canadian deposits. There are no shareholders to these banks; the depositors are the shareholders under government supervision. Here in Canada our banks allow 3 per cent. on deposits and charge anything from 6 per cent. upwards on loans. In Massachusetts the banks allow 4.5 per cent. interest and charge an average of 4.88 per cent. for loans. But one might as well ask Sir Thomas White to make a free trade bulge as to encourage such a brand of bank.

Budget Debate

The Budget debate went merrily on for the first three days of the week and every effort was stressed to get a vote taken on Wednesday the House sitting till the early hours of the morning. Most of the Unionist speakers had instructions from their bosses to be as brief as possible and some of the governmental supporters from the West were none too anxious to say anything at all which might be used against them at the next election. On Wednesday, Sir Thomas White made a sort of second budget speech occupying several hours in which he tried without any marked success to refute the criticisms of his opponents. Most of the other speeches were full of commonplace criticism or commendation

It was a puzzle to me

I had a few dollars in the bank and was saving a little all the time, but without any definite plan. I looked at my neighbors, some of them men of means, and wondered what they did with their money—their extra money, I mean. I supposed they invested it somehow, but how? That was the question, and I was too bashful to ask.

One day, however, I read of a man who had been paying an instalment of \$87.25 a month for a year and a half and had actually made \$136 in interest on his payments during that time, while at the end of the eighteen months he was the possessor of 15 shares Canadian Pacific Railway Company Stock and in receipt of a dividend cheque for 37.50 every three months.

That was \$150 a year, all made by a small Systematic Investment account with J. M. Robinson & Sons, Members of the Montreal Stock Exchange, and doing business in Montreal, St. John and Fredericton.

To make a long story short, that ended my puzzle—the answer had been found. I opened a systematic account with that house, and my savings are earning the full dividend return of my investment. In a few months I shall have paid for and received a certificate for 20 shares of Dominion Iron Preferred, and my income therefrom will be \$35.00 every three months, \$140 a year.

You, too, can follow this simple plan. I am sure that J. M. Robinson & Sons will send you their very attractive little booklet explaining the plan if you will drop them a line.

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Name

C. R.

of the Budget but one or two stood out from the others. Mr. Pardee finally severed his connection with the Unionist party in a good fighting speech in which he exposed and denounced the profiteering rampant on every side and the unfairness of our taxation system. Mr. Maharg, Pres. of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, dealt with many of the defences which had been advanced for the Budget and attacked its faults from the farmers' point of view. He has a good presence and delivery and his criticisms were as damaging as any. Mr. Davis of Neepawa made a most thoughtful contribution to the debate; he is an earnest student and careful reasoner, his speech showing that he had a grasp of the fundamental weakness of our economic system such as few Cabinet ministers possess. Mr. Kenders, a western grain grower, who has succumbed to the persistent flattery and pressure of the Cabinet, subtly exercised by Ministers themselves, supported the Budget in a servile speech which smacked of the pulpit and Mr. R. L. Richardson of the Winnipeg Tribune, once a great democrat, took a similar course. In the last hour of the debate, Mr. Fielding attacked the Budget in a very clever speech in which he taunted the Government with their conversion to most of the planks in the reciprocity agreement of 1911. The last speech of all came from Col. Peck, V.C., who declared that he was a convinced and unrepentant free trader but as he did not wish to turn the government out, would support them. When the result of the decisions was announced, it was found that the Government had a comfortable majority of 50 both against the amendment and for the Budget. Fourteen Unionists voted for the amendment viz. Messrs. Crerar, Fielding, Clark, Pardee, Reid, Knox, Maharg, Levi, Thomson, Johnston, Buchanan, Douglas, McNutt, Campbell and Davis. Two members of the opposition, Messrs. Euler and Lapointe, voted against it and on the vote on the Budget they and Messrs. Knox and Maharg changed sides.

Severe Blow Dealt.

The Budget debate has dealt a severe blow at the project of consolidating Unionism as a permanent party. The Government succeeded in preventing the defection of more than a limited number of members but Mr. Crerar takes with him into critical opposition all the powerful body of organised farmers and all the radical element elsewhere is lost to Unionism. There remain in the Cabinet some so-called Liberal leaders, but they are generals without an army. The Unionists cannot long keep up the farce of being a mixture of the best in the two parties; they may adopt the title of Unionist as was done in Britain thirty years ago by the more reactionary political forces but, as there, the defenders of vested interests will be known for all time as the Tory party and to that designation ex-Liberals like Messrs. Calder and Rowell will have to submit. Mr. Crerar has much greater

strength in the country than in the House and if he cares can exercise a potent influence in political life. He may well come back at the head of 80 farmer members after next elections, and it would be all to the good of Canada if a score of Labor members bore them company. The protectionist party has no right to imagine that last Wednesday's vote represents the feeling of the electors on the subjects of tariffs. The proceedings of the Cost of Living Committee have been most enlightening and the real issue opened up by the Budget debate is whether the state of affairs which permits such exploitation and robbery is to continue.

Divorce Bill Read.

Thursday was spent in Ways and Means Committee on the Budget clauses. On Friday an excellent bill by that good conservative-radical, Mr. W. F. Nickle, to provide better facilities for divorce and remove its present position as a class privilege was read a second time despite the opposition of the Catholic members. But despite the interest of the western insurgency, the industrial situation is much more important and absorbing than the budget debate. The Government obviously must realise that a few arrests and convictions for supposed sedition will offer no stable solution of the problem. The Cabinet have acted with amazing stupidity and shown a complete dearth of statesmanship even in dealing with the Winnipeg situation which was only a single outcropping of a nation-wide trouble. It should be, however, recognized that they are merely acting as the faithful bodyservants of the great invisible government of Canada which is never out of office and it would be interesting to discover what is passing in the minds of the people like Sir Herbert Holt and Sir Joseph Flavelle, to name two of the most notable pillars of that invisible government. Certainly they do not seem to have given their political orders with that shrewdness and perspicacity which has distinguished most of their financial transactions. The amazing thing is that our possessory and governing classes seem blissfully unaware of the risks which they are running. As a rule

they are full of all the instincts of self preservation for themselves and their fortunes but today they seem to have become blind to the dangers which they are facing. They made the initial error of usurping an unduly large share of credit for winning the war. Did Sir Charles Gordon not declare that our munition manufacturers had shown as much heroism as if they have been fighting in Flanders?

Hold to Old Order.

The politicians and financiers conveniently forgot that the war was won by the heroism, patience and endurance of the workers of Canada as well as all the other allied democracies. During the war our rulers, real and nominal put abroad a lot of talk about the new world that was to be and the brotherhood of humanity forged by the sacrifices of the trenches but as soon as the war ended they set themselves resolutely to take precautions for the maintenance of the old order which had proved so profitable for themselves. Our capitalist plutocracy with their political and bureaucratic henchmen proceeded to harden their hearts against the "enemy" at home. Labor agitation, the request of the workers to share in power and responsibility, the expectation of the plain folk that by some means or other the victory would be turned to the general advantage of the community—all this became in the eyes of our rulers merely a new challenge to their authority and a challenge that was absolutely preposterous for had not our wonderful economic and political system enabled us to defeat the great Prussian machine. But the very defeat of that machine is a blow at the existing capitalist structure. The terrors, associated with German Prussianism, can no longer be enlisted on behalf of reaction, for Germany is down and out and through great play is made with the perils of Bolshevism, it somehow is less effective. The fears of the people of Canada and of Britain too are not directed against Prussianism abroad, but towards the growth of Prussianism at home. The workers everywhere are determined that economic Prussianism must follow in the footsteps of militaristic Prussian-

ism. On all sides Labor is pressing forward to inaugurate an epoch of decentralisation by means of a distribution of power and responsibility among the popular elements. The possessory classes, puffed up with the thought of their war fortunes and never more greedy and arrogant, will turn to every device which money and ingenuity can procure to defeat this movement and at the same time will push forward measures for the consolidation and centralisation of their own power.

May Win Early Rounds.

They may win a few early rounds and effect certain compromises calculated to delay temporarily the democratic advance but the temper and current of the times is against them and the old structure of society is beyond permanent salvation. It is highly significant that in Winnipeg the policemen, who have hitherto been one of the main props of the existing order, should reveal themselves as deeply infected with the new spirit and anxious to throw their lot with the rising tide of democratic protest. The majority of the veterans despite the heroic efforts of government hirelings, show every tendency to move into the camp of protest and reform. Perhaps we may have before us a year of trouble and disturbance but there is no need for people of progressive faith and vision to be alarmed. Last week one of the most respected civil servants in Ottawa who is retiring to live in England was given a farewell dinner and in the reply to the toast of his health made a confession of faith. He told his hearers not to be led away by alarms and excursions but to cling to their ideals; they would sooner or later be realised though not perhaps by the methods they expected. Thirty-five years ago he had been the member of a society in London which advocated exactly the same things as the workers in Winnipeg and elsewhere were now demanding. For himself, nothing could make him despair of humanity and he hoped to die "a penitent Christian and impenitent liberal". If more people would view things in this spirit, the solution of our problems would be easier. But Premier Borden merely dons his gloomiest air and talks of the desperate gravity of the situation. The issues are clear enough to all men of intelligence and the proper decision should be equally clear to all men of good will and democratic faith. The "people" mean to share in power and responsibility; Labor has made up its mind to achieve a voice in its own control and destiny. It should be patent to the meanest intelligence among us that the days of economic and industrial no less than of political autocracy are drawing to a close. It often looks, however, as if our present governors to judge from their recent tactics and performances were determined to shorten them.

J. A. S.

Dr. A. H. EDWARDS

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OPEN EVENINGS

THE TARIFF QUESTION

Following Presentation Of The Farmers' Case, Here Is The Case Of The Manufacturers.

The Canadian Railroader has already presented the views of the farmers on the tariff question, and below is continued the publication of the case of the manufacturers, as compiled by Messrs. G. M. Murray and E. Blake Robertson, and issued in a booklet entitled "Tariff Talks."

The Canadian Railroader is anxious that all sides to the tariff controversy should be properly aired, believing that in this way will be seen the wisdom of the Railroader's plan for a permanent tariff commission removed from politics.

The manufacturers' case continues:—

Are the farmers taxed more heavily than other people? Have they been called upon to contribute more generously to the Patriotic Fund, the Red Cross, than people living in our towns and cities? Are they struggling under the load of Victory Bonds they are carrying?

It should be the aim of Parliament to remedy every legitimate grievance, giving attention first to those that are most pressing. If the case of the farmers is to be given priority, then let the farmers show some cause more convincing than the loudness of the howl they are putting up. *What taxes do they pay to swell the Federal Revenue other than those levied by means of the tariff?* When other people are paying taxes under the tariff and income and profit taxes besides, how do the farmers justify their demand that they be relieved of taxes altogether?

If their grievance is a real one how do they account for the fact that there is such a brisk demand for Western farm land, with advancing prices? If there were a movement away from the land, there would be some color to their argument, but the movement is all the other way. The Grain Growers' Guide, in soliciting advertising from manufacturers, represents Western farmers as being more prosperous than ever they were before. In justification of that statement it instances the fact that last year 17,000 new motor cars were sold to the farmers of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Returned soldiers and people out of work are not buying motor cars, neither are they asking for wholesale reductions in the tariff. Yet, who will deny that they have a grievance?

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

At a time like this when there are already so many people in Canada out of work, with the prospect that the ranks of the unemployed will be steadily increased as the soldiers come back, it is the obvious duty of every man who can hand out a job to do so. The man who can but won't is not playing the game. He is not half so bad, however, as the man who deliberately hires workmen in some other country to do a job that could be done just as well by Canadian workmen, some of whom are wondering where their next meal is coming from.

There is a company operating in the Canadian West known as the United Grain Growers, Limited, which

is an amalgamation of the Grain Growers Grain Company and the Alberta Farmers Co-operative Elevator Company. It boasts of 36,000 shareholders, all Western farmers. It owns 300 interior elevators, and operates a 2,500,000-bushel terminal elevator at Fort William. It owns a timber limit, runs its own sawmill to supply its shareholders with lumber, and prints its own journal. It undertakes to purchase for its shareholders on the co-operative plan practically everything that is used on the farm.

In all this it is to be commended for the enterprise it is displaying, but it certainly gave Canadian workpeople a raw deal when picking out the goods it decided to advertise in its mail order catalogue.

The 1919 catalogue of the United Grain Growers, Limited, is a well-printed book of over one hundred pages. Among the articles listed for sale are implements of every kind, buggies, wagons, churns, washing machines, sewing machines, harness, binder twine, horse blankets, wheelbarrows, fencing, milk cans, lanterns, paint brushes, varnishes, cement, building paper, sheet metal roofing and siding, grain bags, nails, belting, screen doors and windows, water tanks, electric light plants, ash sifters, and scores of other things. An officer of the company made the statement to an official of the Canadian Government that everything listed in the catalogue was imported, with the exception of a wagon made by the Petrolia Wagon Co. The illustrations used, so far as they furnish any clue as to point of origin, all bear this out, for the plows, harrows and cultivators are shown to come from La Crosse, Wis., the mowers, rakes, tedders, stackers and wrenches from Peoria, Ill., the portable elevators and washing machines from Pontiac, Ill., etc., etc.

Speaking in the House on March 17th last, Mr. Maharg of Maple Creek outlined a movement that had begun to take form in the West, the result of which would have been that practically no articles of Canadian manufacture would have been purchased throughout Western Canada. He intimated that a few of the leaders in the movement thought this would be unwise, and their counsel prevailing, no action was taken. *Could any more effective plan of boycott against Canadian manufacturers and against the workers employed by them, be devised*

than that which is laid bare by the operations of the United Grain Growers, Limited, whose 36,000 shareholders have banded themselves together for the co-operative buying of imported goods?

But there is another reason why it admirably suits the purpose of these Western farmers to deal in imported goods. Their company is making enormous profits from its trading in grain, profits that are said to be so great that officers of the company feel they must either conceal them or reduce them. They do both, according to the statement made by the same officer quoted above, by selling these imported goods to their own shareholders at an actual loss.

If those shareholders incidentally come to the conclusion that Canadian manufacturers must be robbers when they ask prices for their goods that are higher than the prices the farmers have to pay for imported goods, upon which the full amount of duty has been paid, it strengthens the sentiment in favor of the boycott which Mr. Maharg so kindly intimates is temporarily being held in check, and it furnishes useful ammunition to those who are leading the fight for free trade. But it doesn't help to solve the unemployment problem in Canada, it doesn't help to correct the exchange situation, and it doesn't ensure the Government getting all it should under the Business Profits War Tax Act.

The shareholders of the United Grain Growers, Limited, have it in their power to help very materially in solving the unemployment problem by

handling only Canadian-made goods, but when they deliberately handle nothing but imported goods it forces one to the conclusion, taking the most charitable view of it, that the troubles of their fellow-Canadians give them no concern. Every dollar they send out of Canada for goods that could just as well be made here represents at least 50 cents taken off our Canadian factory pay-roll to be added to the factory pay-roll of the United States.

And these are the people who are insisting that in the redress of grievances the tariff shall have priority!

A NATION OR AN ADJUNCT

The Dominion Government is being urged to act upon the following resolution of the Western Grain Growers:

"That the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, which still remains on the United States Statute Books, be accepted by the Parliament of Canada, and that any further reduction of the tariff of the United States towards Canada be met by a similar reduction of the Canadian Tariff towards the United States."

The following correspondence, which was written during the progress of the Reciprocity negotiations of 1911, was published by ex-President Taft on the 25th of April, 1912, after the famous Taft-Roosevelt quarrel:—

Ex-President Taft to the late Ex-President Roosevelt:

"The amount of Canadian products we would take would produce a current of business between West-

The Road to Independence

Trouble comes to all of us at one time or another.

The man with a snug bank account is fortified against the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune".

It is the duty of every man to lay aside something for the inevitable rainy day.

Open a Savings Account to-day — and take your first step along the road to Independence.

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ern Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct to the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York, with their bank credits and everything else, and it would increase greatly the demand of Canada for our manufactures. I see this is an argument made against reciprocity in Canada, and I think it is a good one."

From the late Ex-President Roosevelt's reply to Ex-President Taft:

"It seems to me that what you propose to do with Canada is admirable from every standpoint. I firmly believe in free trade with Canada for both economic and political reasons."

Sixty thousand Canadian soldiers died and two hundred thousand were wounded in a war which was begun to protect small nations.

Canada emerged from the war standing high among the nations. Is she now to become an adjunct?

MATTER OF TAXATION

Nobody likes to be taxed, but everybody must pay taxes in some form, for according to the old saying there are two absolute certainties which none of us can escape: death and taxes.

Some people in Canada have such an insensate hatred for the tariff, under which we collected last year roughly 60 per cent of our total revenue, that they insist upon its being swept into the discard as a means of taxation.

Now Canada is confronted for this current year with an expenditure of \$437,000,000, of which amount it is expected that \$86,000,000 will be borrowed. Through taxation, therefore, of one kind or another, the country must raise \$351,000,000, or roughly three times as much as it had to raise in each of the years immediately preceding the war.

Clearly, this is not a time for any of us to try to evade taxation. It is possible that at present the burden is not distributed either as evenly or as equitably as it should be, but it is preposterous to suggest that any readjustment should be made in such a way as to allow some classes to get off more lightly than they do under the existing plan, for that would mean that other classes, instead of having their burden multiplied by three, would have to submit to its being multiplied by four, five, or possibly six!

Those who are most outspoken in denouncing the tariff as a means of raising revenue, are suggesting as alternative sources of revenue the following:—

- A direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources.
- A graduated personal income tax.
- A graduated inheritance tax on large estates.
- A graduated income tax on the profits of corporations.

The Increment Value Tax, as administered in England, is levied whenever the land changes hands by death or sale, or by lease for more than a ciple of which serious objection can

14 years. It is not a tax to the principle taken. But what is the meaning of the word "unimproved" in the Farmers' Platform? The increased value of land held idle for speculation purposes may well be taxed when a sale is effected. But presumably the farmer does not intend that the tax shall apply to any increase in the value of his land, despite the fact that perhaps only half of that increase has been due to improvements which he has effected, and the other half to the excess of demand over supply.

As regards income taxes, everyone knows that it is one of the most difficult things in the world to arrive accurately at a farmer's income. The income of a salaried man, of a shareholder, or a retailer who keeps books, is always subject to check, but there is comparatively little check on the income of a farmer. The salaried man must spend a substantial portion of his income for food and for fuel, for which he is allowed no deduction; the farmer is able to feed himself, and keep himself warm, very largely with the products of his farm, which expenses he either does not report at all as part of his income, or if he does report them he can understate the case and there is no one to prove him wrong. Personal income taxes will never worry the farmer because he can get away from them, but the tariff is a sore point with him because it cannot be dodged.

The suggested taxes on inheritances, and on the profits of corporations, will of course leave the farmers untouched. The war has given birth to a taxation baby which the farmer is willing to leave on the other fellow's doorstep. He is prone to accuse the business interests of Canada of "passing the buck" but he seems to be quite accomplished in the art himself. He is so accomplished, in fact, that by means of taxes on incomes and profits, coupled with the removal of the protective tariff, he would tax corporations out of existence and then tax the corpse.

The value of the agricultural production, including live stock, of the three Western Provinces for 1918, is officially given as \$1,322,804,490. The rural population of the same three provinces for 1916 (the latest figures available) is given as 1,092,160. The production per head of population therefore was a little over \$1,200. An average family of five persons would produce farm products to the value of \$6,000. The number of automobiles in Manitoba jumped from 17,510 in 1917 to 23,523 in 1918; in Saskatchewan the increase was from 32,505 in 1917 to 46,879 in 1918; in Alberta the increase was from 20,624 in 1917 to 29,600 in 1918. Of a total increase in the three provinces for one year, of 29,000 automobiles, no less than 17,000 are accounted for by new cars put into use by farmers. Manitoba has 16,158 rural telephones; Saskatchewan 41,297; Alberta 11,984.

These are some of the things which tell of prosperity, of ability to bear that burden of taxation which Western farmers are clamoring to escape.

(To be continued.)

Railroad Valuation Is Knotty Problem

If the ordinary citizen were asked on what basis should the private owners of railroads be paid if the government takes control, he would reply: "Get a valuation of the roads and pay what the property is worth."

It is agreed that a valuation is the first move before anything tangible can be done, but when the method of valuation is inquired into controversy immediately starts. This is shown by Glenn E. Plumb, attorney for the railroad brotherhoods, in an article published in the bulletin of the A. F. of L. railway employees' department.

The brotherhoods insist that American railroad value can be determined only by ascertaining the amount of money the various roads have actually invested at the present time. Against this seemingly fair theory is the plan urged before the interstate commerce commission by the Kansas City Southern railway. This plan, which is also urged by other large corporations, ignores the amount of money invested but is based on the earning power of the corporation. The Kansas City Southern holds that since it earns 6 per cent. on \$75,000,000, that sum represents the present value of the prop-

erty. Under this theory profits over a fixed interest charge are capitalized and become a charge against the property.

The Texas Midland railway has another theory of valuation. It contends that the value of its property must be measured by the cost of reproduction, at present cost of land, labor and material. This theory ignores earning power, prudence of investment, rates, the amount of traffic and actual net earnings.

Another valuation system is the "property investment accounts," which is urged by railroad executives and security holders, who demand that a 6 and 6½ per cent. minimum be guaranteed all securities.

The "property investment accounts" of the railroad do not represent money contributed by the security holders to the corporation. It is merely a bookkeeping account, says Mr. Glenn.

"This demand for value is intended to give a solid financial earning basis for all securities now outstanding," he says, "without any regard whatsoever to the consideration paid therefore or the services to the public which such securities actually represent."

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The WOMAN'S FORUM

BLIND TO EVERYTHING - BUT THE TRUTH

One of the most interesting conferences held on the American Continent has just closed its session. It was the Women's International Trades Union conference, which took place in Atlantic City.

This conference represented millions of women engaged in the basic industries and who up to a few years ago were unrecognized and practically unnoticed by their male co-workers. Their numbers and consequently their power have grown to such an importance that one of the three international delegates sent to represent the British Trades Union Congress was Miss Margaret Bonfield, who bears an international reputation for her work in industrial and political organization. The sending of a woman to represent the British Trade Union lution and bids fair to greater things in the future.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, who has been the president for many years, was again elected with an able secretary-treasurer in the person of Miss Emma Steghagen of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

One hundred and twenty-five delegates representing hundreds of thousands of women of the working class congregated to discuss and evolve a plan whereby women who are obliged to work in factory, shop and kitchen would receive greater concessions as to hours of labor, wages, factory inspection and remedial legislation in both home and factory. None of the measures adopted by the congress were revolutionary in any sense, showing that women, like men, move conservatively.

When one realizes what the world has passed through and what revolutionary demands are being made on all sides and how heavy the burden which women have borne during the past four years, one wonders at their patience and endurance. Prices are so high, wages so low and hours of labor so long, that the determination of women and children are striking even to the most reactionary as a danger signal not lightly to be reckoned with.

A striking picture of women in industry is portrayed by Kate Richards O'Hare in her book, "The Sorrows of Cupid."

"I spent six months one winter in the various factories of New York in order to get information by actual experience. I can truthfully and conservatively say that not more than one out of two girls employed in the factory trades for a year or more are physically fitted to be wives and mothers, not considering their fitness mentally, morally or spiritually. If 50 per cent are made physically, mentally and morally unfit for wife and motherhood by doing work unsuited to their strength, then the wage system must be 'weighed and found wanting,' indeed. Economic condi-

tions which force women to work in unsuitable industrial occupations are not only a fruitful cause for divorce, but an outrage against humanity as well.

"For weeks during the Christmas rush of 1910 I worked as a shop girl in the department stores of Kansas City. Of the thousands of other women, some were girls just budding into womanhood, some women in their prime, some 'old maids,' embittered toward life and bearing on their faces the heart scars they would gladly hide. There were widows, both young and old; married women, with children at home and with husbands walking the streets vainly seeking work, or husbands working for \$9 a week. I tried to live these women's lives, endure the same struggles and hardships. With them I plodded through the snow and the slush in the morning, toiled through the long, long day of labor with dragged skirts, wet feet, aching limbs and tortured back. For 15 hours we stood on our feet, rushed, harried and harassed by impatient customers, worried by floor walkers and impatient superintendents. We snatched an insufficient lunch when we could, struggled through the long, back-breaking day and half the night, then dragged ourselves home more dead than alive. In less than five weeks I, who am an unusually strong woman, was down in bed, demanding the attention of doctor and nurse. The effect of this labor is such as would wreck the strongest body and mind.

"In the cotton fields of Oklahoma I saw a woman dragging a cotton sack down the row, bending to pick the fibre from the bolls, four hours before her baby was born. In 10 days she was back again, dragging the sack, with her baby asleep in the cotton pile at the end of the row. By her side walked a 15-year old girl, slender and delicate, twisted and misshapen from dragging the cotton sack and swinging the heavy hoe. They are typical of the cotton fields.

"The packing houses are shambles not alone for dumb animals. Here are slaughtered youth, intellect and health of thousands of women and girls. The textile mills weave the lives of childhood and girlhood into fabric. Wherever the wheels of industry whirl, they are transforming human lives into profits, despoiling the race of the dower of health. Blindly, brutally, this despoliation goes on, though these women and girls are the present and future mothers of the race."

This surely is a terrible indictment against the effect of industrial conditions of women and children, and common in every land.

In a recent issue of the daily press in big headlines we were told that marriages and birth rate were declining. Is it any wonder when "to

live or not to live," is the question confronting all but the comfortably-off women.

Young men in industry can no longer marry on their wages and in thousands of cases when girls do marry the wear and tear of industry is so nerve-racking and body-destroying that they are unfitted for the duties of wife and mother.

Industry as it is organized to-day and run for profits, reaches its poisonous fangs into the home, lays hold of the babe in the cradle, yea, enters the very body of the mother, withering and blighting. Such is the crime and tragedy of commercialism that not even women and children are secure or spared its horrors. It is good to see women in their hundreds of thousands coming together and uniting on a common basis. What might they not accomplish if they realize their common foe and unitedly bend all their energies and intelligence to eliminate that foe? There can be no such thing as security for home or family for women or men until the mothers of the world realize it is their supreme right to be happy. To

be happy means the right to food, clothing and shelter, to homes of the right kind, to rest, economic security and freedom to choose their mate.

—ROSE HENDERSON.



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The Way the Wind Blows

REASON FOR UNREST.

In France today there exists an industrial unrest such as has never been known in the history of that country, said Miss Nellie Swartz, of the New York State industrial commission, who has just returned from a six week's tour of industrial centres in the war zone.

This unrest is due in part to the weariness, the complete exhaustion of the workers; in part to the fact that the workers feel that the government has not played absolutely fair with them in its war pledges, and partly to the excessive cost of living.

"During this time of readjustment," she says, "there will be numerous strikes and rumors of revolution. The outcome of this unrest and the accompanying struggle still hangs in the balance."

Large numbers of women were making munitions during the war. They were recruited from the millinery, dress making, artificial flower trades and domestic service. Four years of hard labor on a drill press, a lathe, or shoveling coal, says Miss Swartz, "has done something" to these women's hands. They can no longer give the artistic creative touch to the fine embroideries and tapestries. They have lost their art.

Everywhere, it is stated, there is talk of establishing training schools to teach these women their old trades.

BOLSHEVISM OVER-RATED.

According to a statement by the U. S. national civic federation on a report by a commission it sent to England and France to study after-war conditions, neither bolshevism nor revolution is seriously menacing these countries, but the workers are determined to improve their conditions.

"The members of the commission are agreed that the radical press in this country has exaggerated industrial disturbances abroad, particularly in Great Britain, where, in their opinion, the bolshevist movement is not a serious menace. Ample evidence was at hand of a determination on the part of the great mass of employers and employed to work out in an amicable and patriotic manner the new problems that have to be faced.

"In France the majority of the socialist labor organizations, differing radically from the trade unions of this country, are frankly revolutionary. France, however, with her predominant agricultural interests, while a theatre of industrial outbreaks, is at bottom soundly conservative and a just democracy. There is in general little sympathy between the landowning and hard-working peasant and the revolutionary syndicalist."

The commission included James W. Sullivan, member of New York

Typographical Union, and Charles S. Barrett, president of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

WAGES COME FIRST.

The U. S. Methodist federation for social service has issued a synopsis of the social reconstruction programme agreed to at a recent meeting of the board of bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church.

The programme includes these declarations:

"We favor an equitable wage for laborers, which shall have the right of way over rent, interest and profits.

"We favor collective bargaining as an instrument for the attainment of industrial justice and for training in democratic procedure."

"HELLO" GIRLS UNITE.

Telephone girls in San Diego have organized a trade union.

YOU RAILWAYMEN.

Just a word with you. Not much time to parley. Through the official organs of your several organizations there is coming a demand for a labor press. Are you quite sure that Labor will support a press of its own? Now don't shrug your shoulders and answer in a monosyllable. This concerns YOU. The paper you hold in your hand is backed by workingmen from the rank and file, men like yourself. Look at the personnel of the Executive Committee. Some indulge occasionally in pyrotechnical displays with a lamp. Others pull the throttle. Here is one who stands on the locomotive deck and does artistic stunts with a coal scoop. While at the end of a long drag, or in the polished cars, or in the dispatcher's office directing the movements of trains, or, it may be, attending to the road bed, such are the men who stand behind this paper. It will furnish you with facts, as they are, not distorted, or colored to please any particular faction of society. What have you to say? Don't borrow from your neighbor. Have one yourself. Catch the point? Support the paper that will support you. Two dollars a year. Less than a nickel a week. Fire it right into the Editor's office, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, and give us a boost on the main line. And oh, say: while you are doing your bit, and discovering that it is a good thing, and like all good things is worth doing well: TELL YOUR FRIENDS. THANK YOU.—"Railwayman."

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Something Lacking

DURING the recent provincial elections there was a full-page advertisement in the newspapers setting forth "Quebec's Financial Situation" and showing how the public funds had been administered. Items that stood out prominently were \$1,110,911 for "Good Roads", \$248,334 for public buildings and \$513,000 for waters storage for power purposes. Horticulture, apiculture, agriculture and the sugar industry had been encouraged, and effort had been made to stimulate a desire in the people of the province to produce for the primary needs of the population. Yet there would appear to be one thing lacking in this statement made to the public. It fails to show what was expended by the Government of the province on philanthropic, charitable and ameliorative organizations or institutions. Certain sums of money were voted to such purposes, but the fact that they are not mentioned seems to suggest either that they were insignificant as compared with other amounts, or that the Government was apologetic for having so disbursed the money. "The poor ye have with you always", is one of those statements that cannot be denied, and that term embraces a large volume of misery that has in this age to be coped with under various categories. It takes in the hospitals, the orphanages, the struggling widow in her home, the paralyzed bread-winner, the mentally deficient people, the morally deficient who make up our jail population. The aggregate problem of dealing with all these unfortunates is becoming a serious one. There is not a hospital in Montreal, not a society that looks after the poor, not an organization that is striving to remedy the conditions that contribute to poverty and disease, that is not impecunious today. Mere pittances are being doled out by the civic and the provincial authorities. The day is coming when the financial problem of the province's social welfare organizations as one vast whole will have to be studied by the Government. That is to say, men's, women's and children's lives, even those of the lower categories, will have to be considered as being just as important as good roads and industry. A human life will have to be counted valuable in itself, and if the man, woman or child does not measure up to the intellectual or physical standard, he or she must be given the best chance possible that expert opinion can suggest.

Dame Fashion---Fakir

DAME FASHION is just about the shoddiest fakir ever received into the bosom of the human family. She exists only for the purposes of extracting dollars and cents from unsuspecting females, to whom she lies like a political patriot. The more outrageously she lies about la mode and the more absurd the stuff she has to unload, the more trust the women seem to place in her. They must have this and they must have that — Dame Fashion decrees it, and there's the beginning and the end of it. Never mind how ridiculous it is, how useless, how ugly, how unnecessary, how expensive — Dame Fashion waves her little wand and the poor sheep toddle along obediently.

The fashionable woman of the day is just as ridiculously dressed as the lady of the crinoline, the bustle or the trailing skirt. If you doubt it, ask the fashionable lady herself — two years hence! Even the ancients did not wear furs in the heat of summer as our Montreal girls are doing to-day.

A modern woman does not wear a single item of dress designed for health, comfort or the setting-off of her natural graces. She wears many, from her pointed-toe, high-heeled shoes to the weird apparatus known as a hat, which are more foolish and barbaric than anything the poor, benighted Hottentot woman ever wore. Indeed, perhaps the Hottentot woman has the best of it, for at least she wears less of it.

If it were decreed by Dame Fashion that our women should wear rings through their noses, the women would doubtless find excellent reasons for wearing them.

New fashions nearly always begin amongst the ladies of a kind; it takes daring women to introduce a fashion that finally becomes the rage. Other ladies who look at these daring ladies turn up their noses and say "Shocking!" and "What could you expect!" and "Brazen hussies!"

In a week or so, however, the ladies in the movies and on the stage follow suit, and criticism are toned down a little, though the great mass of women still see absurdities in the thing and the regular church-going people continue to wonder what the world is coming to.

Then society ladies adopt the new fashion. There are still many ladies who consider it a bit ridiculous, though not exactly as outrageous as it had seemed before. In another week or two it gets special displays in the big stores, and then the rush is on.

It is now considered the smartest thing that ever was designed, and no woman is happy unless she has it. Finally, the workman's wife gets it in the cheap sales, but by that time the daring ladies who started it are starting another fashion which is "Shocking!" and "What you could expect!" from the "Brazen hussies!" And which in due course will go the same old round.

Meanwhile the designers of the fashions wink the other eye and trust that there will be no reduction in the birth-rate.

K. C.

"Strikers" and "Citizens"

MANY newspapers constantly refer to the Winnipeg strikers as "the strikers" and to the non-striking part of the population as "the citizens". When did the strikers lose their citizenship?

If the terms are used to convey the numerical insignificance of the strikers as compared to the citizens generally, what can the newspapers make of the statement that the strikers and their dependents represent nearly one half of the total population?

The strike is not "directed against the citizens", as some of the newspapers and the high mucky-mucks would have us believe. The strikers are "the citizens" just as much as the non-strikers.

Persons who strike do not necessarily lose citizenship. Frequently they gain it, so far as the proper value of the term is concerned.

K. C.

OK

BLEEDING THE BLOODLESS

(Continued from page 1.)

inent question: "Don't you think it is due to the public to lower your prices?" And Mr. Paton, calmly, without blinking an eye, replied: "Our mill was not built for the Glory of God or anybody else; it was built for the benefit of the shareholders."

To all of which we have this to say to you, Mr. Paton, you cannot do this thing any more. The people are white to the lips with the awful struggle to obtain the bare necessities of life. The people of this country, their children in their cradles, were not put upon this earth to be held up by you or your shareholders, or by anybody else, and we thoroughly agree when you say that your mill was not built for the glory of God. After reading your testimony nobody would accuse you of attempting to clothe the naked. And just another little word before we have done with you, Mr. Paton. You stated that any man who could not make money during the war had something wrong with him. To which we desire to add, that we are of the opinion that there is something wrong with any man who admits making a profit of 72% out of the terrible predicament in which this deadly war plunged our helpless Canadian people.

And now enters Mr. Francis G. Daniels, the very polite, genteel, general manager of the Dominion Textile Company, who jarred the shingles on the roof by admitting that the \$5,000,000 of common stock issued by his company in reality only represented \$500,000. cash paid in. His little beehive only earned \$3,434,752. for the year ending March 31, 1919. The company carried forward a balance to the tune of \$2,189,194., making a grand mess of \$5,623,947. perfectly good dollars, after paying off dividends and taxes and settling aside a little reserve of \$1,100,000. for a rainy day. They evidently had in mind the High Cost of Living. After a great deal of palaver as to what were net earnings, and discussing such little items as \$894,000. for repairs, and \$631,000. for renewals, and a \$1,000,000. reserve, Mr. Pringle, the counsel for the Commission, was able to show that the company's earnings were about 300%. We admit the great dis-

appointment to the shareholders over the very sorry returns produced by the Dominion Textile Company while they were wintering in Florida.

It is not our business to suggest a change in management, but business is business, and if you feel that you must reconstruct and reorganize your business executive to secure adequate returns on the money invested why not approach the amiable Mr. Paton, of Sherbrooke, who if he does not work for the glory of God consciously slaves for the benefit of the shareholders. Knowing what we do of Mr. Daniels, we have no hesitancy in saying that he is too much of a gentleman to hold this kind of job.

Let us pass on. We have now before us Mr. A. C. Pyke, of Toronto, secretary of the Wholesale Grocers' Association, a body incorporated to promote the welfare of the wholesale grocers. The minutes of the Wholesale Grocers' Association show that a letter had been received from twelve manufacturers guaranteeing the wholesalers against loss through lowering of prices. Mr. Pyke proved as elusive as the fish that bears his name. When he was asked why the York Trading Company had not been admitted to membership in his association, the witness said they had not signed the application. When Mr. Stevens asked the reason why, Mr. Pyke calmly replied, "It has not been sent to them; we always want manufacturers to maintain prices." We can dismiss the whole story by asserting that he is a great stickler for high prices. Of course, Mr. Pyke probably buys his groceries, for his own table, at wholesalers' or manufacturers' prices. Mind you we are not sure of this, but his infatuation for the top price leads us to a sly surmise. We have no evidence that he does not go to the little corner store and lays down 70 cents for butter. Perhaps after all is said and done, he is so true to the hobby of high prices that he may practice what he preaches. The good lord only knows what kind of a tune a strange bird will sing until you pull its tail.

The next chapter deals with fish, the kind that swim in the sea, not poor fish like ourselves. You remember when the Food Controller advised us to eat fish. There were columns describing the delectable, healthful brain food, fish. There were all sorts of advice

how to remove testy fish bones, and just when we had all settled down to the proposition of giving it a first-class trial, on turning to another page of the Montreal Gazette, of the same issue that so strenuously advised the use of fish, we were face to face with an article which graphically described the dire disaster which had just overtaken fishdom. In the first place an unknown disease had rapaciously attacked all oysters. As a result the prices mounted skyward, and to aggravate this situation still further storms had been chasing each other up and down the coast with such fury and reckless abandon that all the little tasty morsels of the deep had been chased away from our welcoming shores, when it became very difficult to catch them, so difficult, in fact, that it was inevitable that the prices would have to be advanced considerably in order to make the pursuit worth while. And we, poor fish, swallowed all this. We admit the intention was to have us swallow the fish, but as it turned out we fish simply swallowed the story. However, of one thing we are certain, we did not go at this fishing business according to Hoyle, because apparently we left all the good fish in the sea and we caught the rotten ones by the tons. For we all have remembrances of the tons upon tons of fish that were thrown out on the dumps all over the country. We are not absolutely sure whether these fish were rotten when we caught them or whether they rotted in cold storage. There was a lot of rotten fish that would have been better back into the sea where the storms so graphically described might have made proper distribution of them.

One more stanza, and the spasm is over. King Wheat is up on the carpet. We could tell you of a lot of what Mr. Black declared, and what Mr. Stevens said, what Mr. Sutherland pointed out, what Mr. Pringle remarked, and what Mr. Hutchison exclaimed, but what is the use; the up-shot of the whole flour matter is that one concern made 72% last year. There is the fatal 72% again, the very 72% that Mr. Paton characterized as "a very handsome return." Mr. Shaw murmured that the price of a barrel of flour is \$10.80 delivered at seaboard, on boat, for cash. At this juncture Mr. Pringle pointed out that flour was being supplied at \$5.06 in England, but

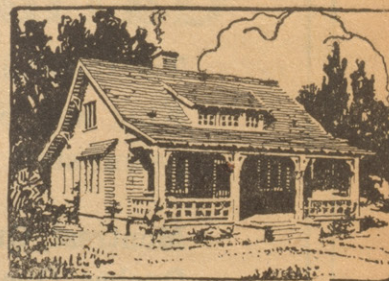
then anybody knows that shipping flour across the ocean deteriorates it terribly. But there is something about 72% that fills us with the apprehension that perhaps the milling companies in Canada are not working entirely for the glory of God either, and the first chance we get we'll tackle some solemn minister of the gospel on the subject and give you his opinion.

In conclusion let us say this. Some of the profiteers are busily, if unconsciously, engaged in what is perhaps the best work that they ever done. They are industriously weaving the strangling rope which will hang the lot of them up so high on the gibbet of public opinion that down in the shadows, in the deepest valleys, and the darkest recesses, where the miserable, the forlorn, the ghastly creatures who are their brothers' dwell, these creatures will see and point; and in the pitiless light the profiteers will be seen for what they are, and they will cry out for mercy, even as did the thief who was crucified alongside Christ on the cross.

In the interval, gentlemen who deal in life's necessities, remember you cannot bleed the bloodless any more.

And you who talk about taking over the railroads, had better keep your eye on the profiteers.

G. P.



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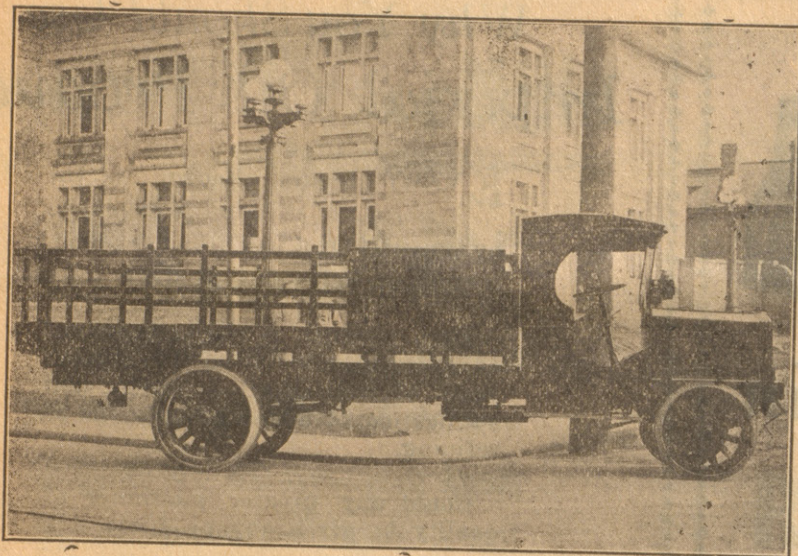
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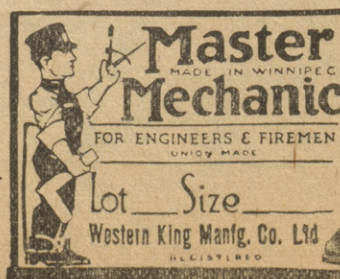
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